tion of money and distribution of illegal literature printed abroad. There was also a desk of the "liberal" non-Socialist party, but Socialist groups predominated among the students.

I did not ask myself then what had brought the masses of students to socialism. Now, after having observed many national revolutions in various parts of the world, I believe that some tinge of social maximalism is inherent in every broad popular movement. Whatever its immediate goal, a revolution must hold out a bright picture of the future before the eyes of the masses. It must give them hope of liberation from oppression of any kind. In this sense, socialism is not an economic program but rather a dream, a moral postulate for the future. This is likewise true of "freedom" and other slogans of broad national upheavals, such as the first Russian revolution was in its early phase, before internal stresses and contradictions developed. The people rose as in response to a sudden call of the tocsin. I heard its call in a strange setting. And perhaps because the call reached me from far away, it sounded particularly urgent and was tinged with bitterness and reproach.

THE TOCSIN: BLOODY SUNDAY

Before Christmas, 1904, my father took me abroad for a vacation. We visited his favorite spots in southern Germany, and he remained in Munich while I went on to Italy alone. The lovely Arno Valley, the quaint towns, timeless cathedrals, and gorgeous palaces enchanted me. Pictures from history books suddenly became real. I found myself in a new world in which I felt completely alien, lonely, and lost; but, seen from here, Russia and her political turmoil seemed even less real than the Florence of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Suddenly Russia captured the front pages of local newspapers. She had suffered a new blow in the war with Japan. Port Arthur fell, to the great satisfaction of Italian liberals, who considered Tsarist Russia the stronghold of reaction and sympathized with Japan. A few days later the newspapers carried the headline: STRIKE IN MUNITIONS FACTORIES IN ST. PETERSBURG. The workers of the Putilov mills, the largest munitions factory in Russia, had walked out, and the newspapers speculated that this event would help Japan by slowing down the Baltic fleet, which was steaming toward the Far East.

The next day the papers reported the beginning of a general strike in St. Petersburg. Strikers from the Putilov mills were calling on all workers to join them. Stories in the press declared that the Putilov management had fired four workers; the factory priest, Fa-